

Message Text

SECRET

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2116

INFO DOD

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 5318

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y --LAST PARAGRAPH--

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS 1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON OCT 5 MEETING (SALT TWO - 295)

1. SEMENOV DEVOTED HIS STATEMENT AT TODAY'S MEETING TO A LONG AND VERY HARD-LINE STATEMENT ON FBS, CHARACTERIZING IT AS "A MAJOR AND URGENT QUESTION THAT CANNOT BE DISREGARDED." IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, ALL MEMBERS OF SOVDEL ALSO LAID STRESS ON ISSUE, SEMENOV SAYING TO ME THAT "THE SOVIET PEOPLE, THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE WELL AWARE OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THIS REGARD" AND WOULD NOT PERMIT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO ENTER INTO ANY AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE FACTS IN THIS SITUATION AND DID NOT PROVIDE FOR EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. SHCHUKIN IN HIS TALK WITH NITZE SAID THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS ARE "FULL" OF STRICTURES ON THIS SUBJECT. SEMENOV PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL OF FORWARD SUBMARINE BASES

AND CARRIERS BY AN AGREED DATE, AND ALSO A "PHASED" RESOLUTION, WITH FIFTY PERCENT WITHDRAWAL AND LIQUIDATION OF CORRESPONDING BASES WITHIN FIVE

YEARS AFTER SIGNING OF PERMANENT AGREEMENT. (IT WILL BE NOTED THIS FORMULATION DIFFERS

SOMEWHAT FROM PREVIOUS FORMULATIONS AND ALSO SPECIFIES

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SPECIFIC TIME LIMIT.)

2. SEMENOV'S PRESENTATION INCLUDED GRAPHIC CHART INVOLVING "COUNTRY A AND COUNTRY B." I AND OTHERS IN THEIR PRIVATE TALKS POINTED OUT THAT HIS CHART DID NOT SHOW THOSE NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS IN COUNTRY B, NOR THEIR NON-LIMITED SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF STRIKING US.

3. MY PRESENTATION SPECIFICALLY ATTACKED HIS ATTEMPT IN OCT 2 STATEMENT TO USE THE LANGUAGE OF ART VII OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT THE CARRYING FORWARD OF THE ICBM AND SLBM NUMBERS FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT INTO THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT. ALSO USED NEW SOVIET ICBM PROGRAM AS ILLUSTRATION OF NEED FOR DIFFERENT PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

IN SEMENOV'S AD LIB RESPONSE AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN OTHER PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, SOVDEL DENIED ALLEGING THAT ART VII REQUIRED CARRYING FORWARD SAME NUMBERS, BUT SAID IT WAS NOT PRECLUDED BY ART VII, AND RE-

AFFIRMED THAT SOVIET POSITION REMAINED THAT NUMBERS FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CARRIED FORWARD. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS USDEL POINTED TO SLIGHT VARIATION IN PHRASING OF OCTOBER 2 STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO ARTICLE I ON ICBM LIMITATIONS, SIGNIFICANCE OF WHICH APPEARED TO BE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH POSITION THAT MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT COULD INVOLVE DIGGING OF NEW SILOS AND NOT, AS IN PRESENT AGREEMENT, ONLY MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING SILOS.
(SEE SEPTTEL FOR DETAILS)
JOHNSON

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NNN

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